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000 THE INDIVIDUAL
AND HIS SOCIETY

*The Psychodynamics of Primitive
Social Organization*

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WITH A FOREWORD AND
TWO ETHNOLOGICAL REPORTS

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Chapter V

MARQUESAN CULTURE

By Ralph Linton

131 THE Marquesans are a Polynesian people living on a series
 of islands in the central Pacific about ten degrees south of
 the equator. Physically they were, and are, an extremely fine
 142 group. They resemble South Europeans, although they are
 somewhat flatter as to nose, fuller as to lips, and darker in color
 —about the shade a South European becomes after a summer
 on the bathing beach. The men average from five feet nine to
 five feet ten inches tall, with splendid muscular development;
 the women are outstandingly handsome even by European
 164 standards. Because of their isolation, however, they have de-
 veloped little resistance to disease and fall easy victims to the
 contagions introduced by the whites.

648 Although the Marquesans have been under French domina-
 797 tion since 1842, they were among the last of the Polynesian
 groups to become Christianized. They drove out missionaries
 and resisted white influence as long as they could, but at the
 time of my visit in 1920-22, Marquesan was already a broken
 124 culture. It was possible however, to reconstruct the conditions
 of the old days from the accounts and reminiscences of old men
 still living in the islands.

168 When the Marquesans were finally forced to submit to white
 domination, they adopted the only means of dignified and effec-
 tive resistance which was open to them; they ceased to breed.
 This was a perfectly deliberate measure, the people preferring
 extinction to subjection. I visited many villages populated en-
 tirely by persons of early middle age to old age with not a single

[p. 137]

[pp. 1-136 not processed]

- 168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMY

- 133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest
[793] whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.
- 133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
- 137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.
- 132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and, consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. 132
 In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these 731
 droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all
 the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it [266]
 drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of
 this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the 241
 steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irri-
 gation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other
 Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little
 importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost en- 245
 tirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and
 on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry,
 a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which
 the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no
 intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted
 a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to
 the family. These trees would provide the child with food as [423]
 long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned
 and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested [787]
 in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the
 lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of 245
 which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for 251
 gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; [476]
 everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fer-
 mented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the
 village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy
 raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as
 twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil.
 The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was
 wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never
 became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first
 crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time
 of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was
 stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than
enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would
be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural
labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they
could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all
objects were individually owned. At the same time there was
recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether fam-
ily or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved,
one might not hold out property without committing offense.

[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe,
but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops
were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership,
but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they
belonged to the family and were prorated by the household
head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the own-
ership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands
of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically,
heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or
gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circum-
stance which caused considerable confusion when the French
tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs
furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were
ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test
of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain
path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack
the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset
here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the
same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount,
keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to
the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His im-²³¹portance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head^[775] of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the^[769] commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never^[262] eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks^[237] were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly²²⁶ organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place^[778] for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and,^[782] for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

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[263] captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Marquesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

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276 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and [731]
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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Famine was a constant and entirely unpredictable threat. 261
The fear of famine resulted in a tremendous value being placed
on food. Marquesan eating habits and everything associated
with food show the effect of this periodic shortage.

At the age of ten every child went through the ceremony of [852]
sanctifying the hands; after this, he could prepare food for
himself and others. The cooking and eating were done in
separate houses set twenty yards or so from the main dwelling.
No one ever ate in the dwelling house or near the food-storage 264
house. Food for men and for women was prepared separately
and even cooked at different fires and in different utensils. Most 262
foods were eaten by both men and women, although there were
some food taboos for women. There were a number of perma-
nent taboos on food; certain foods could not be eaten by
persons in certain occupations; taboos were imposed for several
months before a feast, largely to insure bountiful provision for
the occasion. A family head might taboo the crop from certain
trees in preparation for a betrothal or other ceremony. How-
ever, taboos on specific foods were not highly developed. This
may have been due to the periods of famine, when such taboos
would have seriously interfered with survival.

The social value of food is reflected in many ways; first, in 261
the regulation about its use, and again in the tremendous elab-
oration and decoration of the various objects used in connection
with food. For example, the breadfruit pounders, made of rock 261
and weighing from one and a half to three pounds, were usually 412
carved in a design of human faces. The labor of such carving [532]
was enormous, as the stone was very hard and the only thing
available to cut it with was the teeth of rats. To carve the top
of a pounder would take all a man's spare time for six months.
Similarly, the utensils from which food was eaten, the cocoanut
cups and containers in which spare food was stored, were carved
with extreme delicacy and elaboration, for the Marquesans were
artists of a high order.

Food was kept in a special storehouse mounted on posts and 261
taboo to women. Food was one of the few things subject to [251]

- 261 theft; members of the same family would steal food from one another, but nothing else. The high value placed on food was clearly shown in social observances. Every form of social advancement was linked with some ceremony involving a feast. The natives took delight and pride in the amount of food produced at these feasts, sheer bulk being more important than the delicacy of cooking or preparation. Taboos would be placed on perhaps two of the staple foods, so that no one could eat them for months, and there would be a great accumulation by the time the taboo was removed for the feast. The family would starve themselves for weeks in order to fatten the pigs for the event. Even tribal wars were suspended when a feast was imminent. Neighboring tribes would be formally invited to join the festivities. An enemy never attacked if he knew a feast was in preparation. After the feast, however, when all were beginning to suffer from indigestion, fights were very likely to flare up, and the visiting tribe often had to run for home.

753 The Marquesans had the belief, common to many primitive
774 peoples, that certain types of illness were caused by the absence of the soul. Their method of restoring the lost soul was another testimonial to the importance of food in this culture. The
[756] *tuhunga* (medicine man) built a small house, in front of which he placed food saying, "Soul, this is for you." The soul, unable to resist the lure of food, returned to the house and was snatched by the waiting *tuhunga* and returned to its proper place. He usually had many scratches to show for his struggle with the lost soul.

- 32 There was plenty of timber and bamboo on the islands, but stone suitable for implements was irregularly distributed. The Marquesans' material culture was extremely rich, perhaps the richest in the Polynesian area, characterized by a tremendous amount of decoration and elaboration of detail. A primitive craftsman, carpenter, or canoe maker would have half a dozen adzes, each for a special use. A tattooer would have in his kit
[304] ten or fifteen bone combs of different sizes for making various designs.

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designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige. [46]

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Polynesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple. 462

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation. 531

MASTER CRAFTSMEN

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth. 467

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which [466]

467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations 554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

DISTRIBUTION

438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal [423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or 438
carving. The products were distributed by means of a thor-
oughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift 438
exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with 574
canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief,
who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They [837]
would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual
hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the car-
goes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but
just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that
there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe.
Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of
this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual
benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a [422]
few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load
of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private indi-
viduals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was
organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the
goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual
surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being
taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade
visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although
they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and 438
ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects [552]
retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift [437]
exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of
feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the
Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made
mention of the great number of things they had in their houses,
rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies [517]
in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they
employed in making things. These articles were accumulated
and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds [517]
were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The 513
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352 entire rear half of the houses, which were often fifty or sixty
 513 feet long, was given up to the beds. The bed had a foundation
 of springy brush, cocoanut fronds, ferns, and layers of grass, on
 top of which were placed woven mats. A polished cocoanut log
 running the entire length of the house served as a pillow. These
 beds were softer than many European beds, and the natives
 loafed on them when they had nothing else to do. They also
 352 built sloping back-rests on the stone house platforms so that
 they could sit there in comfort and watch everything that went
 on up and down the street. Clothing was unnecessary in this
 [301] climate, but the Marquesans made elaborate ornaments for
 festival wear.

517 An ambitious, skillful man could use the leisure periods be-
 tween harvests to create a surplus through craftsmanship or
 pig tending. However, if one was not ambitious, one could
 spend his leisure time loafing, singing, playing musical instru-
 ments or games, and, even to a considerable degree, in sexual
 play.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OBJECTS

552 There was an amazing degree of individualization of objects
 778 among the Marquesans, everything being personified. Just as
 each individual was a distinct entity in his tribe, so every axe
 or food bowl or canoe was also a distinct entity and had a name.
 The same names were given to objects as to people, the names
 for weapons being taken from ancestral names of the owner's
 family. All canoes were given names, and a house not only went
 through the process of creation, but was hung with a loin cloth
 so that it would be decently clad when occupied.

It is difficult to say just how much the natives actually be-
 lieved in this personification of objects. A properly made object
 [778] achieved greater prestige value with use. A club which had
 killed three or four men had a tremendous amount of *mana*;
 the more *mana*, the greater the distinction of the weapon. The
 [523] people had a sense for heirlooms; old objects which had been
 handed down had more value than new ones, even though the
 New ones boasted finer carving.

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, 552
had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but 778
they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the
attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated,
it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was
supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. 552
An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had
distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve
different members being named, the most honorable names
being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such ex- 551
changes the personality of each participant was fused with that [572]
of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his
own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use
the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the
victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with [552]
which a man was killed might also be given the name of the
victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship 551
by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable 608
freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*,
or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa*
with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in
the same relation to his relatives as he did.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. 619
There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in 611
theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members
traced connection with an original ancestor, either through
actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from 604
those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters,
were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were
the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all
ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with

604 his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

173 Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory,
611 to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

554 In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture; that
611 is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

619 The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members
[517] had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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among various households, the tribe had an elaborate internal organization and presented a united front against outsiders. There was considerable contact with members of other tribes, under conditions of truce at feasts, trading visits, etc. The natives knew all the outstanding individuals from other tribes and had accurate information as to their activities. The Marquesans were cautious in making blood brotherhood with members of other tribes, each man trying to secure an *enoa* whose status was as high as or higher than his own. But in spite of the wide knowledge of one tribe by another, the relations between tribes were always at least covertly hostile, and wars flared up from time to time. 619

The tribes were sometimes fused by marriages or adoption between families of ruling chiefs, but such unions were uncertain for some generations, at least until a number of similar bonds had been established between the households of lower status on both sides. Other households, particularly those with long-standing blood feuds, would often try to prevent such unions. For example, I heard of a case in which an intertribal marriage had been arranged, but another household of high status in the tribe, who had an unsettled feud with the bride's family, killed one of the men escorting the bride to their village, thereby breaking the marriage contract and keeping the feud going. This household had several revenge victims coming to them before the score was settled, and did not intend to allow things to be settled peacefully. 619
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Each tribe, like each household, had a physical center. This community center was rated as part of the chief's household establishment, and although used by the entire tribe, was considered his property. The central feature of this community center was a huge feasting place and dance ground called the *tohua*. The building of this structure entailed an incredible amount of labor, since many tons of rock had to be moved in. The *tohua* was often three to four hundred feet long by forty or fifty feet wide, and might be built up twenty feet high on the lower side. In the center was a level floor for dances and 619
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619 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms
344 which were assigned to the various classes of the population as
grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the
altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then
a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that
the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga*, and that of
the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which
was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women
and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other
tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the
chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and
the tribe.

619 The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills
778 which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal
[782] of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen
789 and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe,
the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usu-
595 ally two or three men to one woman, while in the household
of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or
four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do
households would usually add one or even two wives to the
establishment some years after the initial marriage of the house-
hold head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in
each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group mar-
riage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange
a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four
lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the
woman; in this way the family head could build up the man
power of his household. Only the poorest households at the
lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy
of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the
basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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Households were graded

in prestige. The basis of the grading rested primarily in man power; the more active adult males the household had, the more it could manufacture, the more work it could do, and the more wealth it could accumulate. There was not much prestige, however, in a mere hoarding of wealth; it was conserved only to be expended at the time of big ceremonials, when the total wealth and the amount of disbursement at feasts were important factors in determining the relative prestige of various households.

There was a consistent attempt to make hereditary the higher prestige status, but the groupings never became rigid and the various households in reality were always going up or down on the social scale. Social rank was concentrated on the eldest child, through whom the whole household attempted to raise its position. Although the eldest child inherited the status of the household, if this was not maintained by feasts and ceremonies, some other household, working hard together for advancement, would raise their position and outdistance the older and better-established group. Since there was a good deal of vertical mobility for the household and also for the individual, [565] social classes were not fixed.

The household had an elaborate physical establishment. There was a large sleeping house with magnificent beds. The house, which was quite perishable in itself, was erected on a stone foundation; the larger the stone used, the greater the prestige of the family. The house platforms of prominent households would contain rocks weighing two or three tons, which were worked into platform walls and often had to be lifted by sheer man power to an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. The size of the stone thus advertised to all the world the number of men that the household could call upon to help in its house-building. In theory, a new house platform was built for the eldest son shortly after he reached puberty, when he was getting ready to take a wife. At that time all the men already in the household and all their relatives would work on the house. [483]

343 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a
 784 separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house.

[76] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects.

[53] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of
 428 labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household
 611 was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

582 The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted
 611 to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is

[773] struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the

[554] adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth. [557]

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women. [592] [647]

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women. [592] [595]

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity, [842] [651]

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

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When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

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The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

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The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

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that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment. 584 592

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families. 584 592 622

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it. 597 342 554

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge 554 584 592 556

554 even within the tribe, a family strong in man power could in
584 such affairs triumph over a weaker household. Consequently
542 the household welcomed a new man. The man's attachment to
the household was voluntary, and persuasion was required to
win his allegiance. The wife was very definitely held out as a
lure to attract men to the household, so that the household head
sought to get a woman who was beautiful and sexually desir-
able. Only the eldest son had rights in the household into which
he was born; a younger son had to attach himself to some other
household, and naturally went to the one where the woman
was most attractive to him. The handsomest and most sexually
skillful girls were sought in marriage by eldest sons, for the
sexual attraction of the women promoted the prestige and
power of the household.

562 The head of the household had authority as an organizer but
542 as he was socially outranked by his eldest son from birth, he
515 could not prevent secondary husbands from leaving at any time
that they considered themselves ill-used. The effective power
lay in the hands of the woman, since by the distribution of
sexual favors she controlled not only the head husband but all
the subsidiary husbands. In the ordinary household, where the
head had simply picked a woman without formal ritual or gift
exchange, she could leave at any time she wished. The wife
made practically no direct economic contribution to the house-
hold. Her job was to please the husbands. After a woman had
passed active sexual age, she would take up certain simple
manufactures. The woman who was herself the eldest child
had a most enviable position. She owned the establishment
and ruled openly, calling husbands at will and dismissing them
if they displeased her. The head husband in such cases was
merely the wife's deputy, who ordered the household according
to her wish and direction.

858 Very little authority was exercised over children, and prac-
tically none over the eldest who, as has been explained, out-
ranked the parents. These infant family heads could do
practically anything they pleased. In the valley of Puamau, I

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once visited the local chief, who had a boy of eight or nine. 858
When I arrived, the chief and his family were camping in the front yard, and the boy was sitting in the house looking both glum and triumphant. He had had a quarrel with his father a day or two before, and had tabooed the house by naming it after his head. Until he lifted the taboo, no one in the family could enter the house. The family were thus uncomfortably camping in the open until the child could be persuaded to lift the taboo and allow them to enter the house again.

The child's strongest attachments were to fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, who were not members of the household. 604
These were the people who stood as the child's sponsors in all ceremonies, and received a large proportion of the gifts distributed at the time of the various ceremonies marking the promotion of the child from one age status to another. There were few formal claims on the child for loyalty or assistance. He was under no obligation to the people who looked after him, and even when he grew up, his relatives made little claim upon him beyond expecting him to aid in case of a blood feud. 853
There did not appear to be any very close emotional attachment between the child and the adults of the household. Children were respectful but indifferent toward their mothers; they seemed much more interested in the males of the household.

SOCIAL GRADING

The tribal organization centered in the chief, who was both administrator and a symbol of the group. There was constant mention of the genital organs of the chief, which were given names indicating their vigor and size. The chief presided at all the great ceremonies, but had no priestly duties and never officiated at sacrifices. He did not go to war because of the extreme danger to the tribe's prestige if he were captured. He had the right to impose taboos in preparation for feasts and also to announce communal activities. For example, he set the time for the fishing parties to go out, and when the first breadfruit was ripe, he summoned the group to the harvest by having 622
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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it
622 was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the
551 social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

Below the priests ranked the *toa*, the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga* or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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622 stant threat of other strong households, and if the chief became unpopular, allegiance would be shifted to another powerful household head.

562 All positions except those of ceremonial priest, war leader, and *tuhunga* were open to women, although a woman of high status usually had to be an eldest child. Sex lines were not sharply drawn, and a girl was even sometimes adopted as a first child. This was usually in the case where two families wished to unite their lines. Primogeniture and skill were more important than sex in determining social status. The high status of women, it should be noted, was out of proportion to their economic importance.

LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

843 The state of pregnancy brought additional prestige to the woman. At this time she exercised control over the head husband as well as the secondary husbands. He became subject to various taboos as she became pregnant. I did not discover whether or not intercourse continued after pregnancy began, but there was no idea that the child was fed by the father through the act of intercourse. The father had to stay near the mother to protect her in the latter months of pregnancy. Both parents had to observe certain food taboos.

[76] Deaths during pregnancy and labor were frequent, which occasioned much anxiety and speculation among the natives. They believed that the deaths were caused by malevolent magic or possession by evil spirits. There was also not infrequent occurrence of feigned pregnancy, which was undoubtedly of neurotic origin and may have been motivated by the desire on the part of the woman to exercise the privilege of control over chief and secondary husbands that went with the state of pregnancy. When the feigned pregnancy failed to materialize it was believed that the child had been carried away by the *vehini-hai* (female ogres) or that a *fanaua* was responsible.

844 During the latter stages of pregnancy the household head was required to stay near the house to guard against evil influences. When the birth was due, a small house was built for

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the delivery, sometimes on the house platform, sometimes at a distance. If the birth took place in the regular dwelling house, the house would be considered defiled and would have to be burned. The father assisted at the birth if necessary. There were no midwives, for it was believed that malevolent spirits were present at this time and women were afraid to go near. In extreme cases, the man would massage the abdomen, or get on top of the woman, holding her by the shoulders and pressing down to facilitate the birth. Immediately after delivery the mother severed the umbilical cord, biting it off or working it off with her fingernails. The father then took the afterbirth and buried it in a wet place, for if it were buried in a dry place the child would not thrive. The mother then took the child to a stream and dipped it under the water three or four times. The average stream, it may be remarked, ran down from the mountains icy cold. The mother next bathed herself, and immediately after this, the household head had intercourse with her, the idea being to restore the uterus and other organs to their proper position. (This was also done in cases of prolonged menstrual bleeding and was considered a prophylactic measure undertaken for the sake of the women, though menstrual blood was considered unclean.) The child was then fed with chewed shrimps and cocoanut milk. No swaddling clothes were used. The infant was simply laid on bark-cloth, not on the bed but on the stone floor inside the house. The bark-cloth was changed from time to time as needed.

The child was bathed twice a day up to the age of three or four years, after which bathing was less formal since the children were in and out of the water all the time anyway. Marquesan children often learn to swim in shallow pools before they can walk. The natives are unable to imagine anyone being unable to swim. There have been cases in which whites were allowed to drown simply because it never occurred to the natives that the men couldn't swim and that the fuss the unfortunate whites were making was anything but a joke.

At the time of the birth a feast was given, at which the household head was presented with a pig in recognition of his

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire
 pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the
 [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut
 [302] at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments,
 a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows,
 and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked
 [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional
 curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked.
 [291] The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For
 special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would
 be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both
 sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That
 of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and
 avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger
 children were also adopted into younger child status. Such chil-
 dren were often asked for before they were born and the re-
 quest could not be refused without causing serious insult and
 possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its
 new household at the age of two to four months and its real
 parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a sub-
 stantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer
 would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said
 to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the
 reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early
 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth
 through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abor-
 tion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble
 of producing children when they knew that these would be
 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely
 [855] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize
 [562] still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, min-
 imizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to
 raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a cer-
 tain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

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but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853
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I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863
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From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854
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[264] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

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There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

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When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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younger children active enough to keep up with the gang. The group usually remained together until the members began to marry and settle down. There was a tendency for these gangs to gather about the eldest child of a chief or of one of the more important families. This leader, who might be either a girl or a boy, dominated the group. From the age of ten on, children were largely independent of their households and families. The older gangs were familiar with the taboos and dangers and could look after themselves. They spent most of their time fishing and raiding plantations for food when they were hungry. There was no wanton mischief or deliberate vandalism; they simply amused themselves. A child might be away from home for two or three days on one of these gang expeditions. The children did whatever they wanted to do. When hungry they went to the nearest house and were fed; at night, since every house had a bed at least thirty feet long, they were accommodated wherever they chanced to be when night fell. 857

Leadership in the gang was based on ability, so that often a particularly strong and active girl would be the leader. There was not much fighting among the children, but when a fight did break out, the girls were quite capable of taking care of themselves. Marquesan children had extraordinary self-confidence and composure. On one occasion I visited a valley where white men rarely penetrated. I paid a call upon a particular household to which I had an introduction through native friends of mine. I called a greeting at the door of the house and was met by a little girl of about five. Although she had probably never seen a white man before, she welcomed me with perfect composure, explained that none of the elders was at home, but invited me into the house, spread out the proper mat, sat down, and entertained me graciously until her elders arrived. This fine feeling for the social graces, which was typical of the Marquesans, was also observable in the life which the children led among themselves away from the adults. They seldom played group games of any sort, but they danced and sang in imitation of the elders and also copied the occupations [156] [57]

857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

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864 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

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Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi*; the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment. 883 535

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again. 292 302

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people. 836 [831]

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children 868

868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga*, ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

[211] 881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl.

[304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 304 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before they became *kaioi*. Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

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on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations. 304
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The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim; tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

304 fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraor-
 881 dinary complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being
 covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate
 hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated,
 too. There were various markings for the face which were prob-
 ably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown
 of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to
 have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the
 tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

304 The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a
 man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior,
 he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the
 blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came
 out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people
 so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed
 was to be indecently naked.

881 When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which
 831 the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls
 attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities
 put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they
 wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted dur-
 ing the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual
 play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indi-
 cating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was
 now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

833 Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age,
 864 trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and
 to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with
 sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both
 sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they
 discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that

[836] almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite
 sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in inter-
 course. The girls began their dances completely attired but

[535] finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the
 close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

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would be multiple copulation in public, the women taking pride in the number of men they could satisfy before tiring. One nice old woman boasted that she had once taken on the entire crew of a whaleboat and had been able to leave them all happy. Under such circumstances, however, the woman rarely had more than one orgasm. 833

In addition to these public affairs, there were, of course, many private ones. These involved even more elaborate forms of sexual play, with the woman definitely dominant, and the man playing up to her erotic wishes. His role was to excite the woman by sucking her breasts and cunnilingus until she was excited to a high pitch and gave the signal for intercourse. These erotic preliminaries were quite devoid of tenderness, and often involved scratching and biting on both sides. The sexual play was apparently of greater importance than the actual orgasmic experience. 836 833

All Marquesans were sexually potent, but the potency of the woman was dependent upon these elaborate preliminaries, without which it was impossible for her to have an orgasm, a trait not uncommon in primitive societies and due perhaps to early conditioning in prolonged inorgiastic play. I never heard of a case of impotence among males, nor were there any stories of malevolent magic being used to produce loss of potency, although magic was used against men in other connections. The absence of this belief is fairly accurate proof that the phenomenon of impotence was unknown. 833

The natives never revealed the identity of their partners when discussing their love affairs. A man once told me of an experience he had had with a woman who was so slow in reaching the pitch of excitement necessary for intercourse that he had broken away and refused to continue. The woman thereupon attacked him savagely, biting and clawing; it was to explain his honorable scars that he told me the story. He seemed to consider that the joke was on the woman, but refused to tell her name.

I heard of no cases of female homosexuality, which would 838

838 indeed seem unnecessary in Marquesan society. There was some homosexuality among males; pederasty, however, was rare, the usual form being mutual fellatio. There were occasional cases of transvestites who assumed the woman's role and sometimes entered the household as subsidiary wives, though they never became head wives and were held in considerable contempt.

581 The erotic skill and attractiveness of women had considerable
831 bearing on their social status in mature life, as the most desir-
562 able girls would be chosen for head wives in important house-
holds. The women had a great deal of social mobility, since a man picked his wife on a basis of sexual attainment rather than rank, and the competition was keen, the women vying with one another in the excellence of their sexual techniques.

831 The idea of exclusive sexual possession was almost lacking in
762 the Marquesas, and was certainly socially disapproved. There were a few monogamous unions based upon it, but such an arrangement doomed the household to insignificance. Apparently there was a distinction between the gang sexual activities and the private affairs previously mentioned. In the former a girl gave herself to every boy in the gang at one time or another. In the latter there was selection, and rebuff might result in suicide. Such suicides were stereotyped. Men climbed a tall cocoanut tree and dived off head first; women ate a poisonous fruit. Beautiful girls were often exceedingly cruel and fickle in their dealings with their lovers. They would lead them on and then rebuff them publicly. A standard story in the islands, which may not be true but is quite in line with native attitudes, is that of a white man who fell in love with a beautiful girl. She refused to give herself to him unless he would have his face tattooed in native fashion. He submitted to this, then she laughed at him publicly and told him he was now so hideous she would have nothing to do with him. The man lived on in the islands for years, unable to return to his own people, while the girl enjoyed her triumph. Unmarried men frequently committed suicide because of rebuffs; married men rarely if ever. Unmarried women, on the other hand, rarely committed suicide,

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride. [56] 762

After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife. 152 578 595

There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs. 583

Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was out-ranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [793] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578] 273 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and 685 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not infrequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were individually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief, although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the construction. 152
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The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing the instrument for all he was worth. 152

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view. They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe, there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles, the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which was previously discussed. 626

WAR

721 Wars were constantly being waged between tribes. One of the principal incentives to warfare was the need for captives for human sacrifice. Human sacrifices were demanded by the gods and were also necessary for the deification of dead chiefs and inspirational priests. Another cause for war was blood revenge, for whenever a member of the tribe was captured or killed, his relatives had to avenge him.

The economic motive in war was not of great importance. Since most of the wars were in the nature of rapid raids carried on along the borders, the invaders did not actually get into the territory of the other tribe and therefore neither carried off a substantial amount of goods nor drove the enemies off their land. However, in individual fighting, the victorious warrior 727 was permitted to claim the weapons and ornaments of his victim and also, if possible, to carry off the body of the dead enemy 301 to be eaten. In such an event the head was kept as a trophy and the warrior usually took the name of the man he had killed. These skulls were carefully prepared, and were worn at the belt at dances and on war parade. Hands of victims were also sometimes dried and worn as waist ornaments. If a warrior acquired too many skulls to be worn conveniently in this fashion, he would cut them up and wear only a section of each. If the victim was a woman, the warrior might not keep the skull, but he would cut off the genitals, dry them, and wear them attached to a lock of his hair. The long bones were kept and utilized for ornaments, decorative handles for food vessels, etc.

726 When engaged in formal war, the men lived in a special house which was taboo to women. They were allowed no relations 722 with women at this time, since abstinence was believed to increase their fighting power. The women were also subject to taboos at this time; they had to sleep in the grandstands of the assembly place; they could not light a fire, bathe, or let down their hair; they could eat with their husbands only on the morning before the men went to battle. The younger women followed the army and cheered from the background, rejoicing over captives.

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over captives. Women could prevent wars if they so desired. They had only to announce, "This road I name after my genitals," and any man who passed that way was certain to be killed. The inspirational priests took omens before the warriors went into battle to determine whether or not the time was favorable, and the ceremonial priests performed sacrifices. 784 728 [587]

None of these war expeditions was at any great distance. The war might be with a tribe which lived only a mile away. The fighters would frequently call a halt for meal times, and fighting usually was stopped before dark, as there were unpleasant demons abroad after nightfall. In the valley of Taipee, which is only six miles long and half a mile wide, there were three tribes which had been at war with one another for generations. Since individual head hunting and raiding to take captives for sacrifices went on continuously between formal wars, the people of the valley lived in a constant state of jitters. 726 [587]

Formal wars were declared by the chief, and the forces were mustered under the leadership of the *toa* or skilled warriors. There was no drilling or military instruction. The battles in the field were merely scrimmages directed by the *toa*, or individual combats, the object of which was to get the body of the enemy. There was one old gentleman in the valley in which I lived who had been the proud possessor of a whaling harpoon with a rope attached. He had achieved a great reputation as a warrior with this weapon, for with it he could spear a man and haul him back in record time. [411]

Small raids were carried on at any time. A favorite trick was for a party to go by war canoe to a valley and land two or three men under cover of night. At dawn the raiders would creep into the village and pick off any early risers who came out of their houses. They would rush their captives back to the shore, signal the war canoes, and be off before the rest of the village was awake.

Each valley had its fort, or forts, which were usually built on high spurs in the mountains. Here the chief, protected by a special guard, took refuge along with the old women and chil- 712 622

712 dren. This was not because he was lacking in courage but be-
 622 cause, as the focal point of the social prestige of the tribe, he
 could not be exposed to capture. The stigma of having one's
 [558] chief tortured and eaten by one's enemies would be a disgrace
 that would ruin a tribe socially for generations. Inside the fort
 was a rock enclosure in which the chief sought refuge in case
 727 the fort was taken. A complete victory resulted in a thorough
 266 looting of the enemy territory and the carrying off of the images
 of the gods. These sacred objects were considered to have lost
 their *mana* after such a defeat and so could be handled with
 impunity. The triumphant return was celebrated by a great
 feast, with torture of captives and human sacrifices to the gods.
 The captives' remains were cooked and eaten, and the feast
 ended with a period of general sexual license. This is about
 as close as anything could be to the old missionary idea of a
 cannibalistic orgy.

726 In spite of this picture of warfare and its tremendous cere-
 monial importance, casualties were not very high and the na-
 tives actually showed no great courage in battle, although they
 yelled and capered and made a great noise. Even the greatest of
 the *toa* rarely had more than four or five killings to their credit.
 [411] Weapons were large and showy but not well adapted to vigorous
 hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the Marquesan clubs were eight
 feet long, made of ironwood, and weighing as much as twenty or
 twenty-five pounds. A direct blow from such a weapon would
 kill a man, but if the wielder of the club missed his aim, it
 would take him thirty seconds or so to get the club back into
 position.

[628] Revenge was a sacred duty. The male relatives of a man who
 [302] had been killed shaved one half of their heads until their kins-
 man had been avenged. As raids were constant and most of
 the village was related to one another, these half-shaven heads
 often appeared to be the typical male headdress. Mourning for
 727 a relative who had been killed by a member of a hostile tribe
 266 was lifted by the eating of a victim from the offending tribe,
 all participating in this feast except the parent of the original

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas.

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The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

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Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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727 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would
754 dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was
expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

RELIGION

776 In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the
[771] Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development
of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first
group included the great creation deities and the minor deities
—personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and
the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethno-
logical workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too ex-
clusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been
written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion
that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little
or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among
the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural
phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals
which were closely associated with their natural provinces.
Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea
and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood
would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman
for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there
were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who
were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these
were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that
only human spirits were really interested in human beings.
First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of
dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods
of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To
understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point
to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of
the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a
double or *uhane*, corresponding to our concept of the astral

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living. 774

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty. 761
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This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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782 victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?"

[825] The people asked that he take away the *nonos*, a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

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562 The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

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765 Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief. 775 765

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance. 775

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men. 764

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought
778 out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to give them *mana*, or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death. 778
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In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead. 773
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The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle. 793
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The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

793 have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

776 Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and

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would often make an offering to the god before beginning his task. The *tuhunga* were also priests to the gods of their crafts, though they had little formal ritual and, except in the case of the fishermen, no sacred place. 776

Below the gods was another series of supernatural beings, the *vehini-hai*, or wild women. The natives were not clear as to whether or not these spirits were of human origin, but they did have human form. They were malevolent toward children, watching them continuously, sometimes merely making them sick and at other times stealing or eating them. They were also dangerous to young men. Appearing as beautiful women, the *vehini-hai* would present themselves to some charming young man in a lonely place and invite him to go along with them. If he complied, they would lead him to their caves, where they would turn back into ogresses and devour him. Occasionally however, the *vehini-hai*, instead of eating her victim, would try to establish him in an affectionate relationship, which was, needless to say, a very uncomfortable and dangerous position for the young man. The men who had encountered these *vehini-hai* said that they usually appeared as beautiful young girls, but that they were always hungry, and if one could steal glances at them when they were off guard, one could see their eyes shoot out and their long hungry tongues pop out and lick the ground. This was warning that one's associate was an ogress and not a lovely lady, and that it was time to get away.

Still another series of supernatural beings were the *fanaua*. 776
They were the spirits of dead men who became the familiars 602
of women, helping them and injuring other women at their bidding. They never operated against men. No woman had more than one *fanaua*. This spirit might be the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, i.e., a father, grandfather, or even some important member of the family several generations back. In such cases his relations with the woman were probably not on the basis of sexual attraction, although I could get no exact information on this point. The *fanaua* might also be a 776

776 nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

754 The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his
 776 woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb
 [153] (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as
 843 has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua*, they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died. 754 776 [787]

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud. [687]

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua*'s victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places 775 776 776 766

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remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

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Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

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The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

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Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

789 natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

FOLKLORE AND LEGENDS

773 From Handy's¹ volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi*, who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

¹ E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

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basket of eels, which the mother puts in her back, and she dies. Before dying she tells the children to plant a seed on her back. Since they fear her ghost, they bury her in the ground, and a fruit tree grows. The girl wants the seed. They eat the fruit and fell the tree, and the mother comes to life again. Then the mother pursues the children, and threatens to kill and eat them. They flee from her to an island which the mother cannot climb. There they have no food, but they plant the seed that came out of the mother. It grows and they eat the fruit. The mother succeeds in getting on the island, and finally wants to climb up on the girl's hair. She does so, and when the brother cuts her hair, the mother falls and dies. The children now feel safe. They take the corpse of the mother and bake it. There is no mention of their eating it. One brother is a glutton, and eats not only food but utensils. He meets his death by eating forbidden cocoanuts belonging to a chief. The girl is wooed by two chiefs, one of whom kills the other.

Another story deals with a handsome married man who is carried away by the *vehini-hai*. The wife sets out in pursuit, but cannot catch up with him, and dies. The three wild women suggest eating the youth. One of them suggests that there is nothing to gain from eating him. The good ogress cautions the bad, and the latter is transformed with beauty. The woman ceases to be a man-eater, and the captured youth stays with them.

Another story deals with father-daughter incest. A man is married to a woman, but when she is three months pregnant, he deserts his wife for a new woman. The first woman has a daughter, who grows up to be very beautiful. The father of the girl hears of her beauty, and among others seeks her favors, not knowing it is his daughter. He comes while the mother and her brothers are away looking for food during a famine. He takes the girl. The mother returns and the girl tells of her adventure. The mother recognizes the man as the girl's father. The woman reproaches first the daughter, and then the father, and then presents them to each other, i.e., father and daughter.

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773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.³ They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[832] ³ White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

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